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IMPROVING THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS.

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COMPONENTS OF THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY, EACH WITH A VESTED INTEREST, INCLUDE THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, CHURCHES, LEISURE TIME AGENCIES, SOCIAL CONTROL AND PROTECTION AGENCIES, RESOCIALIZATION SERVICES, EMPLOYMENT OFFICES, POLITICAL LEADERS, PARENTS, PEERS, AND THE MASS COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA. CHANGE AGENTS MAY BE PROFESSIONAL OR NONPROFESSIONAL, MAY OCCUPY FORMAL OR INFORMAL ROLES, AND MAY EXERT INFLUENCE DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. THEY ARE FACED WITH A LACK OF OPERATIONAL SOCIALIZATION GOALS AND THE NEED TO LINK THE PERSONAL GOALS OF YOUTH TO THE VALUES AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE LARGER SOCIETY. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF CHANGE INCLUDE THE LACK OF EFFECTIVE LINKAGE BETWEEN BASIC RESEARCH AND AGENTS OF CHANGE, LIMITED DIFFUSION OF CREATIVE SOCIALIZATION DEVELOPMENTS, MINIMAL FEEDBACK TO FOSTER IMPROVED PRACTICES, AND INHERENT RESISTANCE TO CHANGE. THE SOCIALIZATION AGENT STRIVES FOR AN INTERNALIZED SELF-DIRECTION IN THE SOCIALIZEE, WITH INITIATIVE FOR SELF-CONTROL AND CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT. ISSUES REQUIRING FURTHER STUDY INCLUDE THE MANNER AND EXTENT OF INPUT ADEQUATE FOR CHANGE, THE INSIDE TRAINER OF THE OUTSIDE CONSULTANT AS MOST EFFECTIVE IN ACHIEVING CHANGE, MEANS OF PROVIDING EFFECTIVE MOTIVATIONAL SUPPORT AFTER COMMITMENT TO CHANGE, AND DETERMINATION OF THE TRAINING NEEDS OF SOCIALIZATION AGENTS. EIGHT PRIORITIES FOR ACTION ARE LISTED, INCLUDING DEVELOPMENT OF DIALOG ABOUT SOCIALIZATION OBJECTIVES, COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL PROGRAMS FOR OPTIMUM SOCIALIZATION, INVOLVEMENT OF SOCIALIZEES AS PARTICIPANTS IN THE SOCIAL PROCESS, AND MAXIMUM UTILIZATION OF UNIVERSITY RESOURCES FOR BASIC RESEARCH AND TRAINING OF SOCIALIZATION ENGINEERS. THIS ARTICLE WAS PUBLISHED IN "CHANGE IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS," AVAILABLE FROM THE NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1201 16TH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036, FOR $2.50. (JK)

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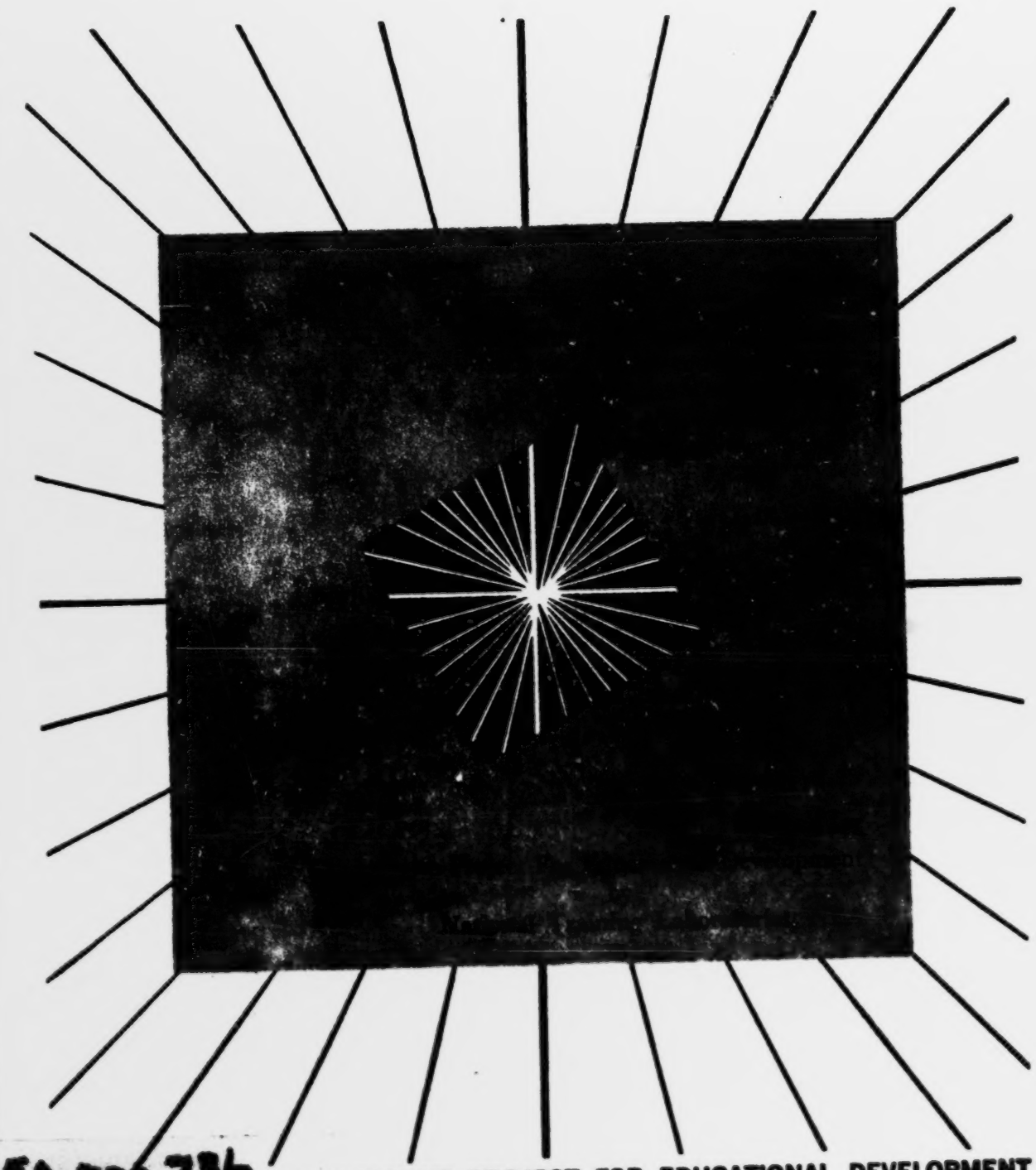
CHANGE IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS



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COOPERATIVE PROJECT FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE— WHAT IS COPED?

Change in School Systems is a companion volume to *Concepts for Social Change*. The working papers presented in *Concepts for Social Change* develop the core ideas about planned change that give direction to the Cooperative Project for Educational Development (COPED). The papers in *Change in School Systems* focus attention on the special properties and processes of the schools and on strategies for change designed to test and develop the core ideas. Although COPED is concerned with improving education, the ideas in both sets of papers are relevant to change in other social contexts and, indeed, were in many instances derived from work in other fields.

COPED is a number of things. It is a three-year project, funded by the U. S. Office of Education, for "the exploratory development of models of planned change in education" in about 25 school systems located in the metropolitan areas of New York, Boston, Chicago, and Detroit-Ann Arbor (with affiliates separately funded in Madison). It is an emerging inter-university facility committed to joint inquiry, to collaborative action, and to interdependence among universities and school systems as a means to improving education. COPED is thus a linker, joining behavioral scientists and school system "change-agent teams" within and across regional centers. With coordination by the National Training Laboratories of the NEA, COPED links staff teams from Teachers College, Yeshiva University, and Newark State College; from Boston University and Lesley College; from the University of Michigan; from the University of Chicago; and from the University of Wisconsin.

To a degree not fully anticipated, COPED has also become a leadership development facility. Looking at the young behavioral scientists who in a few months have achieved full colleagueship at each center, we were reminded at a recent all-staff COPED seminar that "a chicken is simply an egg's way of making another egg." COPED has been an effective producer and assimilator of competent staff members. It has done so by providing a continuing seminar anchored in the realities and urgencies of working with school systems. Through personal interactions among people with a wide range of experience and knowledge, the seminars and regional staff sessions have provided learningful confrontations around ideological, conceptual, methodological, and value issues.

COPED's effectiveness in the area of professional development was greatly enhanced in 1966-67 when grants from the U.S. Office of Education and the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation enabled NTL and COPED to initiate in-service training programs both for university-based interns and for school system- and education association-based training consultants.

COPED is also a forum—a continuing seminar—for conceptualizing about, studying, and developing models for bringing about improvement in education. The titles of the first papers prepared for discussion at COPED seminars, the working papers presented in *Concepts for Social Change,* reflect the themes and concerns of COPED. Buchanan, in "The Concept of Organization Development, or Self-Renewal, as a Form of Planned Change," links COPED concerns to relevant issues in settings other than education. Watson's "Resistance to Change" specifies factors at the individual personality and social-system levels which make for resistance. In "Concepts for Collaborative Action-Inquiry" Thelen distinguishes between "forced change" and "genuine change" where change in overt behavior is rationalized in internal changes of concepts, perceptions, and attitudes. Lippitt's "The Use of Social Research To Improve Social Practice" describes patterns of using scientific resources in coping with persistent social problems. Havelock and Benne develop a conceptual framework in "An Exploratory Study of Knowledge Utilization." Klein's paper on "Some Notes on the Dynamics of Resistance to Change: The Defender Role" calls attention to the positive contribution that resistance may make in change efforts. The concluding paper in that volume, "Self-Renewal in School Systems: A Strategy for Planned Change" by Miles and Lake, illustrates application of the various concepts in the development of strategies for change in education. The papers in the present volume continue the discussion but focus more specifically on the schools and on strategies for action.

Finally, COPED is an organizational experiment testing the feasibility of creating and sustaining an inter-university facility for collaborative work with schools. The concept of inter-university collaboration has been put to rigorous test. There are clearly costs to be paid in time, in communications efforts, in energy, and in threatened autonomy, conflicting loyalties, and potentially "watered down" compromise. Thus far there is the conviction that the benefits outweigh the costs. Incentives to collaboration have included access to a wider range of ideas and experience and to joint resources for staff development and for work on such specific tasks as developing research instruments. Long-range or anticipated values include richer interpretation of results because more school systems can be included, a wider range of strategies can be studied, and a greater range of orientations can be explored. Conceptual work is richer and

more challenging than it would be within individual regions. Assumptions and issues are more sharply defined through inter-regional reaction and interaction. At the same time inter-regional commitments and responsibilities have supported continuous task accomplishment which might have been postponed if the region alone were involved.

A variety of means have been used in fostering inter-regional collaboration. A representative Executive Committee was created at the first all-staff seminar. It meets approximately every other month and holds more frequent one-hour telephone conferences. (The conference call is beginning to be used by other COPED committees and task forces and also to link participating school systems and university staff members within a region.) The all-staff seminars every three or four months have been the major means for identifying and working through issues and giving COPED an identity. The joint development of the in-service training program and continuing utilization of the interns and the school system training consultants is another major source of organizational strength.

COPED goals are emergent, with testing and reformulations made through the seminars, task forces, and regional sessions. The goals have been stated broadly as:

To increase knowledge about how change takes place in schools.

To develop, assess, and draw generalizations regarding the effectiveness of specific strategies of planned change.

To disseminate, in ways that they are likely to be utilized, findings and materials generated through COPED.

To help about 25 school systems become self-renewing (innovative, competent in the management of innovations, skillful in problem solving).

To influence the universities as sources of help to school systems.

COPED will be asking:

What actual changes occur in COPED-linked school systems?
What are the causes for these changes?

At this writing—when pre-involvement measures are being taken and relationships established between university and school systems—no one is under any illusions that the task is simple. The reality, as Matthew Miles, Measurement Committee chairman, has stressed, is that some 25 school systems are being entered by COPED change agents with varying entry strategies and with a wide variety of subsequent change approaches carried out in different operating centers. To assess change carefully and

explain it plausibly represents a very substantial challenge. We know that the challenge has to be accepted if we are to emerge with findings that relate significantly to pressing educational problems and not simply with 25 "interesting" development projects.

A major commitment through a number of months has therefore been to the development of a "core package" of assessment instruments. By its reality and its urgency, this effort has helped bring COPED into being as an organization. It has also demonstrated one of the important rewards in attempting to work in an inter-university staff rather than independently. The development of the core package has utilised the variety of special interests and competencies represented at the various centers.

As issues and problems, as well as potential benefits, have become clearer, stronger commitment has developed to cross-center designing and the ultimate discipline this involves. The earlier Measurement and Continuous Assessment Committees have been merged into a representative Research Council and given responsibility for improving the core package; for helping the regional groups make their hypotheses more explicit and classifying the districts they are working in more rigorously; and for formulating, "working," and bringing important issues to the total staff. For example, the Council has been helpful in defining the relative demands of service to client-collaborator and of research. To paraphrase William Schutz, research coordinator for COPED, we need to be rigorous and experimental in formulating hypotheses, testing them, and evaluating results. But if we are to avoid sterile results--much ado about little--this phase of the scientific enterprise needs to be preceded by a period of discovery. The researcher entering the system needs to be open, creative, sensitive to the situation, imaginative, free to *discover* what the problems really are and what is happening.

COPED's potential importance lies in what can be learned not only about change and improved problem-solving skill and self-renewal in schools but also in what can be learned about interdependent approaches to educational problems. While it is too early to predict the ultimate contribution of COPED, experience thus far suggests that inter-university facilities can be created and sustained and that collaboration can be achieved between university and school to the advantage of each. The readiness of school systems to enter into COPED--though this means commitments of time, energy, and funds--is one of the promising factors.

Without naming the entire staff and each of the committees, it would not be possible to acknowledge the contributions that have brought COPED into being. NTL's Core Committee on Education should be

listed as the initiators—Ronald Lippitt, chairman, and Paul Buchanan, David Jenkins, Matthew B. Miles, Don Orton, Herbert Thelen, and Goodwin Watson. The COPED Executive Committee should also be named: Charles Jung, Fred Lighthall, Dale Lake, Elmer VanEgmond, Richard Hammes, Robert A. Luke, Jr., Miriam Ritvo, Loren Downey, Donald Barr, Audrey Borth, and Robert Fox. There should also be acknowledgment of the roles of William Schutz as research coordinator, Goodwin Watson as publications chairman and COPED editor-in-chief, and finally, Stanley Jacobson, who has made preparing these papers for publication his first project as newly appointed publications director for NTL.

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Program Coordinator for COPED

IMPROVING THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS[1]

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Basic, systematic knowledge about the socialization process and its patterning in society is not only an important area of scientific curiosity; it is also a necessary resource for those participants in the society whom we will call socialization agents and agencies. Knowledge about the socialization process has been organized conceptually so that we can comprehend more adequately the dimensions and complexities of this area of research and theory. But the achievement of comprehensibility does not guarantee the utilization of this body of knowledge to improve the process of socialization and resocialization of children and adults. Indeed, the process of utilization of knowledge poses its own quite new problems, different from those of research productivity and conceptual clarity.

Essentially, utilization of knowledge is an engineering problem. It poses such priority questions as: What socialization goals should be pursued as objectives? How can socialization agents be reached and resocialized in their socialization-agent role? Who shall be responsible for this resocialization of socialization agents and agencies? Who are the agents and agencies whose competence must be changed in order to improve socialization? The questions are not about socialization, but about the processes of planned changed in social relations. Many of them lead to

[1] An expanded version of this paper will appear in a forthcoming volume on socialization and society, prepared by the Committee on Socialization and Social Structure of the Social Science Research Council.

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complex research problems themselves. They are challenges to scientific conceptualization, data collection, and the retrieval of existing knowledge.

This paper attempts to look at some of the crucial questions of planned change in the socialization process, focusing on the following aspects of the problem:

1. What are the components of the socialization community?
2. What typical activities of socialization agents and agencies would we wish to see influenced by utilization of our current and future knowledge?
3. What are the goal and value problems of the socialization agents?
4. What are the special problems of change in the socialization process?
5. What are the intervention goals, skills, and problems of the change agent?
6. What are some illustrations of successful efforts to improve the socialization process?
7. What are some of the major dimensions of the technology of intervention?

THE SOCIALIZATION COMMUNITY

Segments of the Socialization Community

We are accustomed to think of the community as an economic or political or physical community, but it is just as valid, and for our purposes more important, to think of the community as a socialization community. Our studies of community functions have identified a number of clusters of personnel with a vested interest in influencing the behavior and values of children and youth. Each cluster has a socialization program, more or less planned, and more or less formally presented as a program to influence the growth and development of information, attitudes, values, and behavior of the younger members of the community. A list of these vested-interest clusters will remind us of them:

1. The formal education system, public and private.
2. Churches, with their programs for children and youth.
3. Leisure-time agencies, with their recreational, cultural, and character education programs.
4. Social control and protection agencies such as the police, courts, traffic safety agents, and so on.
5. Therapeutic, special correction, and resocialization services offered by counselors, remedial clinics, programs for the handicapped, and similar agents and agencies.
6. Employment offices and work supervisors who hire the young and supervise them on their paid jobs.

7. Political leaders who have an interest in involving the young in political activities such as civil rights protests.

In addition to these seven personnel clusters with more or less articulated programs and professionalized socialization agents, there are two additional populations of direct agents:

8. The subculture of parents.
9. The subculture of like-age and older peers.

And finally, there are the producers and distributors of the socialization interventions of the mass media—TV and radio programs, the movies, newspaper stories, and newsstand materials. These ten vested-interest clusters we will call the segments of the socialization community. Let's look at their structure and functioning a little more carefully.

The Structure of the Socialization Community

Within each socialization segment there is a variety of agencies or institutions with socialization objectives. Usually there is a policy-making board of directors made up of laymen or professionals or both (a board of education, committee on religious education, agency board, company management committee, and so on). Typically there are program administrators and program designers under the board who prepare materials to carry the messages of the socialization programs and plan the procedures for reaching the youngsters or adults who are the targets and clients of the program effort. Under the administrators and programers are the professional direct workers with the children (teachers, group workers, counselors, policemen, and the like) or volunteer workers receiving training and supervision from professional workers (scout masters, big brothers, Sunday school teachers, and club leaders, among others).

The components of the socialization structure can also be seen as two groups of agents: those who assume an *informal* role, without official delegation and sanction by the community—older peers, sibs, high-status peer group members, neighbors, and storekeepers are among them—and those who are delegated to take a *formal* socialization responsibility as representatives either of some segment of society or of the total society.

The formally delegated agents can be differentiated into non-professional and professional or sub-professional agents. Non-professional agents include parents, baby-sitters and other parent substitutes, volunteer recreation group leaders, Sunday school teachers, political leaders, and, to some degree, employers. Professional and sub-professional agents include, among others, teachers, recreation specialists, social group workers, policemen, counselors, and reading and speech correction specialists.

We can also think of socialization agents as either *direct* or *indirect* agents. Most policy makers and program designers have no direct contact with the youngsters: they work indirectly through the population of

direct workers. This is also true of those who exert their influence through the mass media.

Coordination and Communication Within the Socialization Community

Certain general socialization objectives can be expected to be subscribed to by all socialization agents, no matter what specific segment of society they represent. But what is subscribed to and what is actually demonstrated and taught are two different questions. Direct agents appear to speak with a variety of "socialization tongues" to the same youngster, although some of the messages may be congruent. The research is not adequate on this important question, but it is clear that what socialization agents profess as desirable practice in interviews is quite different from what they actually do; and verbal congruence between agents, itself not frequent, is probably greater than behavioral congruence. This again is a point on which research is greatly needed.

On one issue there is considerable agreement among all the professional agents: if the child shows deviancy in the socialization process, it is most likely to be the fault of the parents; but if the child demonstrates a healthy, normative socialization, it is more likely to be because of significant influence from other segments of the community. In spite of the great causal potency attributed to parents, none of the other agencies in the socialization process has initiated significant programs either of collaboration with parents or of in-service training for parents to promote a healthier and more consistent socialization experience for children.

In fact, there are very few mechanisms of dialogue, or cooperation, or coordination across the segments of the socialization community at any level to consider questions of consistency, goals, and division of labor. Those responsible for school experience have very little dialogue with those responsible for after-school experience; there are few examples of any real collaboration between formal education and the social-control agencies; very little communication and almost no collaborative planning takes place between educators and employers; teachers and parents do tragically little joint planning of socialization objectives or procedures; and our data indicate that there is little communication between value educators working in the church context and the other socialization agents of the community. In the American community there are no roles defined as responsible for linking the efforts of socialization agents to each other or developing any coordination of their efforts.

Another serious problem is that policy makers and program designers at federal, state, and city levels of legislation, budget allocation, and "program guidelines" production have only a hazy picture of the actual process of social interaction which determines the quality of the sociali-

zation of our young. With increasing concern and generosity they allocate resources for the socialization agencies, but with very little sensitivity to priorities or to methods of program initiation and distribution which will enhance the quality of the child's experience. Instead, they depend upon a pluralism of efforts which makes the child's life more complex without providing any basically significant additional growth resources.

PROBLEMS OF GOALS AND VALUES OF THE SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

If we are to proceed intelligently to derive and develop ideas for the improvement of socialization practices, we must clarify a diagnosis of the performance problems of the socialization agents. Some of these problems are difficulties in formulating socialization objectives; others are problems of performance skills; and still others are problems of collaboration and coordination among agents and agencies. Let's review a sample of these issues in order to prepare ourselves to formulate the strategies for the improvement of practice.

Representing General Societal and Special-Interest Group Goals

Interviewing parents or teachers or other socialization agents about what products they believe are expected to emerge from their socialization effort, we usually get a variety of vague, often inconsistent formulations of what they hope children and youth will become. Even volunteers and professionals with agency training and supervision, who speak easily about activities and fairly articulately about methods, become halting about goals or desired outcomes. They can talk about desirable learning activities, but they are quite uncertain as to whether the desired end-product of these activities is a certain state of information in the child, or a certain attitude toward learning, or certain skills at learning activity, or certain resultant values. In most cases there seems to be a combination of lack of communication of outcome expectations, ambiguity about what expectations are communicated, and lack of ideas connecting ideal outcomes to the concrete material about methods and activities which usually is communicated in training activities.

A further problem one quickly discovers in discussions about goals and methods with teachers is that they have received and are confused about conflicting messages from such "authoritative sources" as various professors of education, statements by the board of education, the dictates of their administrators, the consultative advice of their supervisors, and the input from parents. One message says that the student's academic achievement is the primary desired outcome and that a rigorous program of work with high standards is the method; another message agrees that achievement is a primary value but stresses that a permissive program

which stimulates individual inquiry and depends on the development of self-motivation is the method; a third message says that learning how to learn and the methods of solving problems is the major outcome objective rather than any particular subject matter mastery; and a fourth message indicates that the social-emotional adjustment—the mental health and personality growth of the child—is the primary outcome value, requiring individualized concern about success experience and the development of social-relations skills and positive self-evaluation. These competing and conflicting inductions from the experts and the power figures get quite confusing for conscientious socialization agents, and they receive very little help in thinking through the problems involved in arriving at their own professional judgment.

Projecting Personal Needs as Socialization Goals

With all this lack of agreement about goals, and the lack of professionalized goal orientations, it is no wonder that much of the goal orientation of many socialization agents seems to be primarily a projection of personal needs derived from the background of individual socialization experiences. One study has indicated that a large proportion of the volunteers and professionals providing group leadership of children and youth perceive themselves as having to substitute for inadequate parents, and that, consequently, they develop attitudes of hostility towards the parents and competitive efforts to "win the children." Some teachers find, when faced with team teaching or practice teachers or classroom aides, that they are quite threatened by having someone else "getting close to the children." The fact is that their major source of personal satisfaction is the positive dependency relationship of all the youngsters. Becoming a manager rather than a direct controller of socialization is unsatisfying because the major personal need is to be the central figure for each child.

To many socialization agents, the desired socialization outcome, "becoming a good citizen," means teaching children obedience and conformity to what is expected of them; and the agents easily rationalize from this conception a basis for satisfying their own authoritarian control needs by operating a socialization regime which expects and demands grateful submissiveness and dependency. There is often wrathful indignation when the youngsters demonstrate ingratitude "for all I've done for them."

Another frequent projection of personal need is manifested by the socialization agent who tries to "become one of the kids." He vigorously projects the goal of "keeping hands off and letting every child become himself" or declares "they'll be growing all right if they are having fun." This type of projection is often based on a personal anti-authority

posture in which the socialization agent is implicitly ganging up with the kids against grownups, so that the adult not only abrogates his responsibility to represent adult socialization goals, but often actively joins collusively in trying to subvert the efforts of other societal agents.

This is just a small sample of the complex motivational issues which underlie, to some degree, the socialization ideology of all agents. It points out the great importance of active programs of training which emphasize the clarification and operationalization of socialization goals, and the achievement of self-awareness as an important step in achieving responsible role taking as a parent, teacher, club leader, counselor, employer, or any other significant socialization agent.

Being a Linker Between Society and the Socializee

The problem of formulating and pursuing appropriate socialization goals is made even more complex by the fact that the child or youth is continuously in the process of formulating a set of personal goals and values. His goals and values emerge from his coping with and using both the imput from the great variety of experiences with all socialization agents and his own internal experience of maturation and problem-solving experimentation. So the youngster develops his own expectations, hopes, and demands as he interacts with socialization agents. He initiates input as well as receiving it. The sensitive socialization agent must accept and support this development of personalized initiative and identity while also taking responsibility for representing the values and expectations of the larger society.

This dual-loyalty responsibility—being a two-way linking agent—is one of the most central and challenging aspects of the role of socialization agent. The detached gang worker must represent some of the needs and interests of the delinquent gang to his agency and the agency's norms and values to the gang; the effective classroom teacher must sometimes negotiate with the principal or the parents on behalf of her classroom group and also influence the development of adult-approved norms and expectations within the classroom group. The parent is faced with the difficult problem of being a sensitive link between the angry neighbor and her child or between the juvenile officer and her teenager. But and large, the skills of creative compromise ending in negotiation are not part of the training and value orientation of the socialization agent. This is a serious lack.

Intervention Policy

When to intervene and when to leave the socializee to generate his own initiative toward growth and development is the most important value

judgment which socialization agents must continuously make. One recurring issue in this decision situation is whether a permissive "leave him on his own" policy will in fact be a supportive opportunity or will be experienced as neglect and rejection by the youngster. Much permissive behavior of socialization agents is the result of an avoidance of decision making rather than a thoughtful decision in the interests of the socializee.

Another intervention decision problem emerges from the fear of indoctrinating the youngster with one's own particular values or competing with the values of some other more centrally responsible agent, such as the parents.

A third illustrative problem is whether or not to step in vigorously, and often forcibly, to protect the child from harming himself or society. The consequences of "letting him learn his own lesson" are often more destructive than instructive, but this is not always so. Skilled decision making is needed.

Substantive Content Goals versus Methodological Process Goals

"Should we teach him what he should believe or how he should decide what to believe?" This question represents one of the most challenging dilemmas for all types of socialization agents, whether working with children, youth, or adults on problems of socialization or resocialization. Research by Hoffman and others seems to indicate that the way in which the socialization agent answers the question will determine whether the young one learns his values as rigid, unchanging guides or achieves criteria for value judgment which permit him to examine and change his values as he and his society change. In the field of education there is much current interest in formulating an education program which will stimulate "learning to learn" instead of focusing primarily on specific information acquisition. Thelen has formulated and clearly articulated this approach as the *inquiry orientation* to socialization experience as contrasted to an *indoctrination orientation*. But certainly a great deal of content must be learned, and learned in such a way that it is quickly and flexibly available as a resource for action and for further learning. The socialization agent must find a creative blend of these two policy orientations.

The Lack of Dialogue

Why is there such a lack of dialogue about socialization goals, both within and among the segments of the socialization community? This seems to be one of the most serious problems affecting socialization agents.

One major barrier to dialogue seems to be the fact that at some level of awareness most socialization agents feel guilty or anxious that they are not accomplishing as much as they would like to or feel they are expected to. To get into dialogue about the problem would be to expose themselves to the negative evaluation of others and also to confront themselves with the problem. Of course, part of the sense of discrepancy between ideal and actual achievement derives from the ambiguity and vagueness about goals and therefore the lack of opportunity for any realistic feedback about degree of success.

Another problem is that most socialization agents, both professional and non-professional, seem to feel apologetic about being "philosophical" or "idealistic" or "theoretical." Somehow these are thought to be opposites of being practical and realistic. In our experience, once a sharing of personal values about goals has been legitimized there is a great flow of enthusiastic and very meaningful dialogue. But the assumption that "everybody else would raise their eyebrows if I talked about these things" seems to be an effective barrier to initiating significant professional conversation about goals and values.

A third apparent block to dialogue is a posture about autonomy and compromise: What I do with my children or my class or my club is my own private business and not open to inspection. It is part of my integrity as a person, part of my autonomy, to do things the way I do them with those under my supervision. If I expose my values and my practices to others, they might influence me; they might induce me to compromise in a dialogue between me and them, and to compromise is bad. Compromise means giving up the best for something less good. This particularly dysfunctional attitude about compromise is a deeply ingrained part of American character structure. It is quite a personal revolution to achieve the attitude that compromise represents a creative blending of the insights of self and others to achieve a more complete understanding or a more adequate policy or a more skillful practice.

A fourth barrier to active dialogue about goals probably derives from our buck-passing orientation about socialization responsibilities. One way to avoid feeling too overloaded by one's responsibility as a socialization agent or agency is to place the core responsibility elsewhere. The school person can say, "We have to focus on his academic achievement, but that's obviously just a small part of the job." The leisure-time agency leader can say, "Our job is to provide fun and recreation; of course, he'll learn some things from our activities, but this isn't the serious part of growing up." And the parent usually says, "I'm not the expert on what he needs. I just do the best I can." A change to a posture of collaborative sharing of the responsibility is needed, but it will come only if these various barriers to active dialogue can be coped with.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF CHANGE AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE IN THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION AGENT

The preceding sections have reviewed and illustrated some of the problems socialization agents and agencies face in coping with their crucial responsibilities: rearing, educating, and guiding the young toward well-functioning adulthood and helping adults to face the challenge of resocialization into other occupational and life-cycle roles as they change and as society changes. The next step is to look at the problems of "resocializing the socializers." What problems do we face in effectively inducing changes in the values, attitudes, knowledge, and performance skills of the agents? After examining a few of these problems, we will be ready to look at some concrete demonstrations of procedures for improving socialization practice.

Systematic Orientation Toward Research and Development

The concept of socialization engineering as an applied discipline linking basic research to practice has been developed only to a very meager degree in education and even less in the other areas of socialization (social work, recreation, religious education, and others). Because of a lack of socialization engineers with good scientific training, very little blending has been achieved of the value and intervention concerns of the practitioner on the one hand, and systematic knowledge about the processes of development, learning, and planned change on the other. The lack of conceptual and operational linkage between basic research and the decisions and actions of socialization agents is a major block to the improvement of socialization practices.

Social Invention and Diffusion

If one interviews a group of parents or teachers or other socialization agents about where they get their practices and what kind of developmental work they are doing on improving their practices, one learns very quickly that there is really no concept of social invention or of systematic development and testing of innovation. Many creative practitioners are doing frontier work, but because the notion of social invention is missing from their orientation to their own role and their own field of practice, very little effort is made to document or evaluate their innovations. In fact, they seem to have real inhibitions against sharing their work. As we probe socialization agents about why they haven't shared their particular techniques with others, we discover they typically have an image of raised eyebrows on the part of colleagues: "They'd think I was just

blowing my horn." We find that the colleagues of creative inventors are also quite inhibited by the notion that their peers and supervisors expect them to be their own inventors and would negatively evaluate their "imitating somebody else." So we have a great volume of creative socialization practices which remain invisible and inaccessible to review and consideration; and we also sometimes have the faddish, uncritical adoption of non-validated practices which have been poorly conceived and poorly described, but seem to be coping with something important.

The Lack of Feedback

Our frequent impatience with socialization agents for their lack of effort to improve the quality of their performance must be tempered by the recognition that most socialization agents get very little feedback about whether their current practices are highly successful or moderately successful or failing. The farmer knows quickly how much corn per acre is being produced by the hybrid seed; the doctor gets quick feedback as to whether his intervention has reduced infection and fever; and the physical engineer receives objective records about the output of the machine. But the socialization agent typically lacks standards for his performance and criteria or tools for checking the effectiveness of his efforts. There is little basis for feeling successful and rewarded, but there are also few data to indicate that certain goals are not being achieved and that efforts are needed to improve one's practice. The agent's performance remains relatively invisible to colleagues and supervisors. Neither competitive challenge nor good communication channels are present to stimulate sharing and improvement of practice. In addition, there tends to be an often quite high sensitivity to a potential negative reaction "if they had a chance to see what I am doing." The agent therefore receives little stimulus to take the risk of searching for and utilizing new resources.

The Collusive Cycle of Resistance to Change

When a farmer decides to change his farming technique by using a new seed or fertilizer or farm implement, he doesn't have to be very concerned about how the soil or the tool will react to his change of concept and practice. But in the field of human affairs, every socialization agent's behavior patterns are embedded in a set of mutual expectations and reciprocal adaptations. A great deal of security is derived from the predictability of the behavior of others. The typical socialization agent has reciprocal expectations and adaptations in relation to supervisors, peers, and socializees, as well as in relation to himself and his own self-concept.

For example, socialization agents and their supervisors fairly typically have arrived at a mutual adaptation in which there is a verbal exchange of information and counseling about what the socialization agent is doing without any actual observation of behavior, so that the agent avoids the threat of direct observation and the supervisor avoids the inconvenience of scheduling direct observations and some of the embarrassments of evaluative feedback.

In a similar fashion, colleagues (e.g., fellow teachers, fellow Sunday school teachers, neighboring parents) usually carefully avoid observing each other at work and frequently hesitate to innovate new types of practices because they assume that their deviancy would be negatively evaluated by their peers. We have found a number of situations in which colleagues were maintaining a collusive ignorance and inhibition against changing the socialization practices because each assumed that what he would like to do would be thought to be deviant by the others.

The mutual adaptations between socialization agents and socializees are also an important basis of resistance to change. In a classroom the unspoken agreement often seems to go something like this: "Don't ask us to do too much, or set too high standards, and we will give you the pleasant feedback that you are regarded as a good teacher." Frequently the unspoken agreement between teenagers and their socialization agents seems to be: "Don't spring anything new and extra on us and we won't rock the boat."

In discussions with parents, teachers, club leaders, and other socialization agents who are trying out new approaches, we also find evidence of the importance of the *internal* feedback cycle in relation to one's own conception of one's role on the job. Frequently, reluctance to try new behavior patterns is expressed in terms of feelings of awkwardness or inadequacy in the new pattern of interaction with the youngsters; there is a danger of diminished perception of self as competent to handle whatever comes up in the relationship.

These cycles of expectation and adaptation are one of the strongest bases of resistance to change, in spite of common discontent with the way things are and eagerness to have change come about.

"Depth" of the Necessary Change

Another important fact about change in performance as a socialization agent is that what must be changed is a *behavior pattern*. This is in contrast to biological and physical technology, where the typical process of change is one in which a human agent does something differently with a physical thing—such as a tool or a drug or a seed or a chemical. Changing a behavior pattern usually implies a change of some depth in the values, attitudes, and skills of the agent and, therefore, a deeper

involvement in adopting the new practice and more problems of relearning and internal resistance to change. One implication for change in socialization practices is that new practices cannot be successfully transmitted by simple written discussion; new information is only a first step in a complicated process of relearning which requires the type of support and guidance described in the next section of this paper.

Adaptation Rather Than Adoption

If a mother is to learn to discipline her child differently, or an employer is to learn how to involve his employees in becoming motivated to change their jobs or performance level, then, as we have noted, rather basic changes in behavior pattern are involved. The particular behavioral style of one successful socialization agent may not be the best one for a second agent. This does not mean that they cannot learn from each other through sharing practices, but learning from new practices from someone else is a process of internalizing and adapting rather than of imitatively adopting the exact behavior pattern. This type of adaptive behavior requires a deeper understanding of the principles underlying the particular practice than is needed for imitative adoption.

All the foregoing observations and illustrations boil down to a conclusion that the process of training or retraining socialization agents is different and much more complex than the process of training change agents in the fields of biological and physical technology. Yet the biological and physical engineering fields use networks of linking agents, diffusion procedures, ond specialized manpower to provide links between basic and applied research, and they use active programs of in-service training to maintain a continual upgrading of the quality of practice.

With this survey as background, let us turn to the opportunities and potentialities of upgrading the quality of the performance of the great variety of socialization agents and agencies.

INTERVENTION GOALS, SKILLS, AND PROBLEMS OF THE SOCIALIZATION CHANGE AGENT

From our observations, the trainer of socialization agents appears to face certain general decision and action problems, no matter whether he is training volunteers such as scout masters, or "delegated amateurs" such as parents, or professional workers such as teachers and probation officers. In summary, some of the major problems are:

How Much Initiative? When? With What Focus?

The agent must always be facing the question of how actively to intervene in the learning activities of the socializee. The objective is

to achieve some type of internalized self-direction, through which initiative for self-control and for continuing development will be taken by the socializee. To support this process of growing self-direction, while also introducing the necessary cognitive and affective learnings, is a crucial and continuing responsibility of the socialization agent. With young children, and even with older clients, the agent must find behavior techniques for providing necessary emotional support and cognitive messages without being coercively controlling.

He must find ways of giving direction to thinking and behavior while at the same time leaving—in fact, encouraging—freedom to make decisions. He must provide behavioral models and demonstrations without limiting the freedom to consider alternatives. He must be able to share what he has learned and believes with the socializees without creating an external guidebook for all their thinking and behavior.

Many thoughtful socialization agents raise the important question of what right they have to attempt to give direction to the life of someone else. It is important that every socialization agent face this question squarely for himself; and the staff and board of every socialization agency should regard this as a major policy question. An illustration of what may emerge from thinking through this question is reflected in the work of a small group of teachers who posed the question for themselves as they were developing a design for doing something about the rejected and withdrawn pupils in their classrooms. They were planning to initiate a special therapeutic training program for these youngsters. They asked themselves: "What right do we have to intervene when the pupils are not asking us for help?" After considerable discussion they concluded that there were four bases for taking initiative to intervene. First of all, they were able to spell out for themselves that even though the children were not able to formulate a verbal request for help, there were many evidences that they were suffering psychological, emotional pain which they could not handle; and in many of their behaviors they were reaching out for help. A second basis for intervention derived from the clear evidence that the psychological state of these children was preventing them from engaging freely and efficiently in academic learning activities, and the teachers accepted the fact that they had been delegated by society, through the school board and their supervisors, to conduct an efficient program of learning activity for all their pupils. A third basis for intervention, the teachers concluded, derived from the fact that these alienated, peripheral members of the classroom group were damaging the learning opportunities of the other members of the group, either by disruptive behavior or by withdrawal, which represented a withholding of the resources they had to offer the group. The fourth basis for intervention derived from the evidence that the vicious circles of maladjustment in which these children were enmeshed

had a good probability of becoming more serious with succeeding years and of culminating in potentially serious harm or financial cost to society, perhaps the harm of destructive delinquency and crime or the cost of hospitalization.

The Problem of Input Adequate To Have Effect

Too many socialization agents—parents and professionals—have been inappropriately induced to try something new or different and have been burned by the failure of the experience. Usually what they have been induced to try could not succeed because it represented a single entry into the child's life space where a multiple entry program was needed to support a significant change. For example, a PTA program might induce a mother to try a different approach to feeding four-year-old Johnny, without involving his father and older sib. Very often the individual socializee is not the appropriate target for the effort of the socialization agent: the more appropriate and necessary target may be a group of which the child is a member, or the organization context of the worker, or a set of individuals who are strategically related to the socializee. Just as children become cynically inoculated against the inconsistent inputs of socialization agents, so do socialization agents become cautious and inhibited because of their unsuccessful involvement in influence attempts based on poor understanding and inadequate strategy.

Inside Trainer or Outside Consultant?

Husbands are probably in a poor position to function as parent educators of their wives, and school principals have difficulty functioning as in-service trainers of the teachers under their supervision. But outside consultants are also handicapped: they have difficulty both in achieving an adequate diagnostic understanding of the continuing needs and problems of the socialization agents in a particular context, and in providing the continuity of support and feedback needed to maintain the growth and development of socialization agents. Perhaps one of the most effective solutions to this problem is illustrated by the functioning of educational improvement teams in two of our projects. In one project each school building has a teaching improvement team composed of the principal; a high-status, sociometrically accepted classroom teacher; and a university-based consultant. The three of them worked together to identify improvement needs, to design in-service training activities, and to take initiative, invite participation, and sponsor the use of outside resources. In the other project there were system-wide committees composed of a representative of top administration, a curriculum specialist, high-status

elementary and secondary school principals, two or three creative elementary and secondary teachers, and a university-based consultant. This team worked together to sponsor diagnostic activity and to design and implement in-service training programs.

The importance of achieving the appropriate social-emotional distance for effective help is also illustrated by a resocialization program for family units, each with a seriously recidivist delinquent son. The most effective design for helping the family members to move toward meaningful communication with each other was found to be group therapy sessions composed of mothers, fathers, and sons, but no one from the same family. They were "outsiders" to one another, but they were "insiders" in the sense of having similar problems and being in familiar role relations. Probably the most creative designs for training socialization agents will involve a training team which balances outside objectivity and expertness with inside diagnostic knowledge and effective commitment.

Motivational Support for Effort after Commitment

As we indicated earlier, in most fields of biological and physical technology, innovation may be diffused by information and demonstration programs of relatively short duration; but innovation in socialization practices requires great emphasis on the amount and type of support which the socialization agent receives during the period of trying out a new practice and consolidating it as part of his internal repertoire of values and skills. This means that a socialization agency should have an institutionalized, continuing in-service training program for its staff of socialization agents and that the community should sponsor such a program for the largest staff of socialization agents, the parents. It is a sad fact, for example, that few school systems have full-time training directors and training staffs, whereas no industrial concern would feel it could maintain its competitive position without a fully developed, continuing program of manpower training and retraining. When one member of a school board, who also happened to be president of a paper company, discovered this fact recently, he exclaimed, "You mean to tell me we use better intelligence in producing better paper than we do in raising better kids?"

Differential Training Needs of Different Socialization Agents

The new impetus to socialization-outreach programs has created demands for many new socialization roles and agents. Many challenging and difficult training situations have resulted—for example, those where the socialization agents to be trained (community volunteers, neighbor-

hood aides, Head Start assistants, and so on) are from a different social class or racial or ethnic background than the trainers. Training a group of high school dropouts or a group of women from an underprivileged neighborhood to cope with the role requirements of a social service job is quite a different relationship and curriculum problem than training middle class volunteers to lead groups of middle class young people to work in a nursery school. The relationship between social class or ethnic background and orientation toward the disciplines of time, learning, and the like cannot be ignored. Frank Riessman has pointed out that the action-learning opportunities provided by role-playing technology are far more effective than verbal communication in this kind of training. One of the great needs in such a training situation is to provide opportunities for the trainees to achieve a sense of self-potency and interpersonal acceptance which will support the development of motivation to learn and readiness for a reciprocal influence relationship with their trainers. Perhaps the biggest lesson to be learned is the importance of designing training activities so that there will be continuous feedback from the socialization agents to their trainers about their involvement in and their evaluation of the learning experience.

SOME PRIORITIES OF NEEDED PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT AND INNOVATION

It is time now to step back, to look with as comprehensive perspective as possible at the total socialization program of the society, and to ask: What are the priorities?—Where is developmental work most needed? What types of innovation in socialization practice are most promising and need widespread promotion? Here is the beginning of such a priority list.

Development of Dialogue About Socialization Objectives

We have a critical need to involve our social and educational philosophers, religious leaders, and humanists in the concrete analysis of the basic goals and instrumental objectives of the socialization process —not general philosophical analysis, but disciplined dialogue with the scientists and practitioners to inquire into and clarify the varied goal orientations needed as basic guidelines for the performance of all socialization agents. The assumption here is not that consensus should be achieved but that practice will be vastly improved through the stimulation of a motivated search for goals and the maintenance of a dialogue which blends the resources of value experts, scientists, and practicing socializations agents.

Coordination of the Socialization Community

We have already noted the chaotic medley of socialization vested interests which impinge on the life space of the socializee. Certainly in our pluralistic community and society there is no place for a "socialization czar" to prevent client-raiding among the religious education league, the recreation association, and the family team. But there is critical need for voluntary sharing of values and the development of program collaboration. We have demonstrated a genius for voluntary coordination in other areas of community and national life. The socialization enterprise is perhaps most crucial from the point of view of the nation's overall health and its developmental continuity. It is high time we give priority to the coordination issues which are experienced every day by every child growing up among us.

In-Service Education of Parents and Family Units

As we have noted, the largest and most influential population of socialization agents is the least socialized into the role of socialization agent. On the one hand, parenthood has not been defined as a profession, and therefore no curriculum of professional training has been developed. On the other hand, parents have not been defined as volunteers deserving the attention and commitment and training opportunities offered to volunteers by the many agencies serving children and youth. Perhaps as a defense against their sense of inadequacy, parents have not organized to demand more adequate training opportunities; and perhaps from a defensive sense of inadequacy and a misguided value orientation, the professional community has said the role of parent and the arena of family life are a private domain not to be entered unless there is a request for help. This situation constitutes a great disservice to parents and family units and a basic weakness in the fabric of our society as it copes with the adjustment problems and development issues of rapid technological and social change. Not only must parents receive help in creating and filling their own socialization roles more effectively; they must also be helped to orient and support the child in his utilization of the other socialization situations—the school, leisure time activities, employment opportunities, and so on.

Comprehensive Programs of School Improvement

The professional teams who make up the school system have been delegated a tremendously complex variety of socialization tasks. There is much confusion about the variety of these tasks and the hierarchy of

priorities which should be maintained. Stimulating and guiding the unfolding of cognitive development and the acquisition of information about past, present, and future is a fantastically expanding task in itself. In addition, there are the interdependent responsibilities for social-emotional growth and development, movement toward selecting and preparing for occupational and sex roles, the nurturance of physical health, and the development of leisure time interests and of motivation and skills in the area of citizenship. The school receives far too little collaborative help from other segments of the community and far too much criticism of failure to achieve idealized standards. At the same time, the school is typically very backward in utilizing the resources of social research and theory to improve its functioning—as a subsystem of the community, as an organization, and as an association of small groups called classrooms in which adults and children engage in a program of interaction aimed toward the achievement of certain educational objectives. As we have indicated earlier, school systems have lagged badly in institutionalizing in-service training as a function of the manpower recruiting and development program. They have also lagged badly in involving parents and other community socialization agents in the school program and in involving older students in the education of younger students. Creative demonstrations do exist in various of these areas, but the total organization of the education enterprise does not adequately support the identification and diffusion of creative practices as they are innovated in a local school system.

The Extension of Volunteerism and Sub-Professionalism

Traditionally, the American community has been perhaps unequaled in the extent of its dependance on and utilization of volunteers to man a variety of community functions, including the socialization of the young. However, the increasing professionalism and specialization of the socialization function has tended to decrease the volunteer worker's sense of significance and the importance of the volunteer role in the division of labor in the socialization community. This is partly because the professional schools have neglected to build into their curriculum a value orientation toward, and training in the skills of, recruiting, training, and maintaining the motivation of volunteers. Also, there has been no development of a clarified hierarchy of professional, sub-professional, and volunteer roles for a division of labor comparable to that which has been developed in the field of nursing service or medical technology. With increased automation of housework, early retirement, and a shortened work week, there is a tremendous increase in the potential womanpower and manpower available for volunteer service. There have been very few innovations in the techniques of identifying and recruiting such

manpower or in providing the type of continuing in-service training and involvement in goal-setting and program development which are needed to provide an adequate sense of personal fulfillment and social significance to the role of the volunteer. We have already noted that a variety of sub-professional roles are beginning to emerge in the fields of education, social work, and leisure-time services. It will be interesting to see whether the professional establishments will be open enough to invite sub-professionals and provide them with the opportunity for upward mobility and continued training, or whether these roles will become predominantly routine and dead-end.

The Utilization of Peer Culture Resources for Socialization Agentry

Older siblings and older peers provide most children with the greatest single opportunity for value and behavior modeling. The peer who is three or four years older is more likely to be seen as a relevant "aspiration model" than those distant figures who fall in the category of grown-ups. From the point of view of adult socialization agents, however, cross-age relationships between peers tend to be dysfunctional and disruptive of adult socialization goals. Our experimentation has revealed that this adult viewpoint stems primarily from the fact that adults have not sought the collaboration of older peers or, when they have, they have delegated only routine social-control responsibilities instead of providing training in the ideas and skills needed to do an effective job of working with the younger ones. Older peers have proved remarkably responsive to opportunities for collaboration; they have demonstrated a rapid "profesionalization" of concepts and skills; and they have also demonstrated a great increase in their responsiveness, as socializees, to the influence attempts of the socialization agents. There are many areas of the socialization community where the manpower resources of older peers are needed and where youth can provide a necessary and sensitive linkage between the generations.

The Involvement of the Socializees

Unfortunately, we have not recognized very adequately the vested interests of children and youth in the direction and nature of their personal growth experience as learners and participants in the social process. There are exciting examples of the development of youth councils with significant community functions, of invitations to young people to serve on policy boards of socialization agencies, and of sharing with children the clarification of the rationale and goals for their educational experience. These are very scattered, non-visible demonstrations of what

should become a policy of all segments of the socialization community: to involve the socializees to the greatest extent possible (conditioned by their maturity) in setting goals, providing feedback about their response to their socialization experiences, and taking initiative in innovating growth and development experiences for themselves. And perhaps most of all, the socializees need direct training in solving the problems of coping with the multiple input of the socialization community and of developing personal potency to initiate directions for their own growth experiences.

The Mobilization and Development of University Resources

There is a great need for basic research to increase the range and validity of the diagnostic insights required by those who should lead the engineering of improved socialization practices. In addition, there is a great need to develop high-level graduate training in applied behavioral science for "socialization engineers," to provide trained leadership for the research and development efforts of the socialization community and a systematic linkage between the resources of basic research and the operational needs of professional and volunteer agents. A great expansion is needed of university-linked demonstration centers where innovations in educational and social practice can be carefully developed and tested, under controlled field conditions, and then made available for widespread diffusion. And, finally, programs of undergraduate education need to encourage student participation in the socialization programs of the community as a part of undergraduate learning experience. Many young people need to move from the limited perspective of baby sitting to the wider horizons presented by internship and leadership in the community enterprise of rearing and educating its young.